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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nulol*, and the generic name for [101] the people of the Dean valley is *Sutshmx*. About eighty years [164] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [731] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

[164] Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [731] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sā-tsk'

361 *(44) *Sā-tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Tăl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Tăl·io* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *ɪstămɣ*[11] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word *tribe* is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Tăl·io*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

[11] To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ɪ has not been used.

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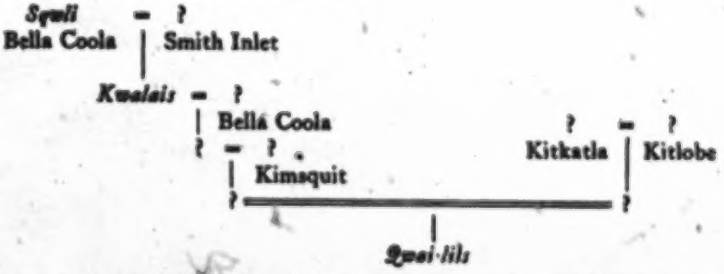
ferent units with which he is connected, but the following is an instance of survival for several generations. *Qwai·lils* is an orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitlobe. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, *Qwai·lils* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[4] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtually lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the course of a few generations, such designations carried afield would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[4] As the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to obtain a modern instance of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of localities within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiments expressed with regard to *Qwai·lils* at Smith Inlet are identical with those formerly held for possessions in ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages.

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Lomqo-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest."[1] Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xaxais* Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At *lhâq!* especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[1] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potlas*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potlas* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potlas* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsilxa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[1] [See cat. 116, P 186 (c) - ANALYST]

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[1]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[1] Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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553
* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[606] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire
[532] prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his
mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the
family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[685] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

*556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
688 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
●628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *usaak* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *tsaok* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *tsaok*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual.

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *ɬsaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family.

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them.

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *ɬsaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect:

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men.

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(11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *nusok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

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The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sınxɪ* had gone to a potlatch at *Tāl·ɪo* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sınxɪ*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of olachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sınxālotla*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, meaning goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, but *Sınxālotla* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Haidāl*), promising to repay with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames mounted. *Sınxālotla* called upon his *Tāl·ɪo* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sınxālotla*, who thus rose in public esteem. [501]

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

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CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds —Totem-Poles —Coppers —Professional Prerogatives— A'alk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

128 *556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

HERALDS

203 *556 The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *kusiut* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

[574] [628] [578]

[1] Herald, *a'lk*ᵘ, plural, *wa'lk*ᵘ*alis*, not to be confused with *a'alk*, the name of a society (I, p. 273).

[2] This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

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766 575 [776] [203] [628] [302] [537] 533 575 766 [184]

but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *sisaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *sisaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden *sisaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *sisaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *sisaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *sisaok* rites.

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were about to die. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly making miniature wooden darts and circles of pliant wood, such as are used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he heard someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a strange man.

"A *wina*[1] is coming to *Djusdju·sa*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djusdju·sa*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djusdju·sa* was at once aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the stranger, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djusdju·sa* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling instincts were aroused. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon fin which I use to chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and clams."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of decorated moccasins against your salmon fin."

They gambled and *Djusdju·sa* won.

The loser handed over the moccasins, saying, "Go down to the beach and put just the toes of these shoes into the ocean."

Then he disappeared.

Djusdju·sa placed the toes in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small herring-like fish called *ɬmān·i*. *Djusdju·sa* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not clean himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Next day the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djusdju·sa* had made. Once more the lad was victorious, receiving a pair of moccasins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he won a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days ones to bring other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djusdju·sa*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had so cleaned *Djusdju·sa*'s eyes that he could see where the king-stick[2] was concealed; hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

[192] [628]

[1] *Wina*, the term used for a raiding-party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2] This is a marked stick and the players guess in whose hand it is concealed.

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*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed [761 754] that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

*575 203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better.

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuux* attacked *Ałqäläxł*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *susaok* ceremonial.

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out

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*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Q̇omqo·ts*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Täl·io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcubsa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qotlum* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. The night selected is usually that of the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *kukusiut* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out:

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realizing that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit.[11] This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *Sunxl* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village.

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *kukusiut* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling so are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *lsxtämem* pattern and a song is composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner.

The next day, *nusiutälsap*, the customary raised enclosure is erected and a number of *kukusiut* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual.

[11]The patron for this dance could not be learnt.

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuxˑ* and *Ălqäläxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̇omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Älquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a
[648] water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[701] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement [411]
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [177]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use-
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 121 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [171] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which [177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these [867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

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in former times. *Sklsa* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played.

A game with somewhat similar rules is *sqwlaiāk*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting.

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing

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become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all.

526

TOURNAMENTS

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It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with stones. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the large number of valuables essential to all such competitions.

[525]

Many years ago, the Kimsquit people challenged the *ɬstämɣ* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a moose-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered stones on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kimsquit had been found. A certain *Sinugetl* was chosen as

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526 captain. Meanwhile the *stâmq* people had been carrying out
628 similar tests, so that the picked men of both settlements were
726 ready on the appointed day.

A canoe was sent forward to give final notice of the approaching flotilla so that the twenty canoes from each settlement came together, fully manned and armed. First ten canoes on each side came to blows, the captain of each craft singling out a hostile one and dealing with it alone. The crews threw stones over and around their own bow-man, trying to beat down the moose-skin held up by their rival, or sometimes endeavouring to throw missiles high up into the air on to the heads of their foes. Whenever a bow-man was knocked down, his crew was defenceless and subject to serious injury if they continued the fight. If, however, they abandoned the conflict, the winners made no effort to punish them further, nor did they join in an attack on any other canoe; that each craft had one adversary only was the rule in all tournaments. In this instance, the Kimsquit people were victorious, no less than eighteen of their canoes defeating the craft opposed to them. *Sinuyetl* returned home in triumph, singing his war-song, and was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had led a successful raid. Indeed the casualties, consisting chiefly of broken heads, were sometimes almost as serious as on a foray, but no revenge was ever claimed in case of death so caused. Instead of throwing stones by hand, it was sometimes agreed that they were to be cast by slings which made the tournament more dangerous. The warriors never left their canoes, so that hand-to-hand fighting was impossible.

It is probable that tournaments of this nature took place many years ago, although none of the men now living had ever participated in one, and many had never heard of this type of competition. Until relatively recent years, however, heavy moose-skins were held up as protections in the bows of canoes, and men were selected for the task of being pelted with stones in the manner just described.

600 One other type of game, string figures, was studied rather extensively. These are described in Appendix B.

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Sxaymoxtsa: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sxeaid: Name taken by a *Sisaa* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsaqmaut: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwaaid'a: Name created upon earth.
sxwaqdaiit: Deer.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Sxwaikaqamtsa, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxwaxwaqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
sxwi'lkumdzi, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
sxyaxwai: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

tadzila: Cave.
tai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiebenda: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaiele'it* in the beginning of time.
taiemtmuk: Desertion of husband by his wife.
taio: Dorsal fin of a fish.
taiuiaq: Heavy kind of copper.
taiumaa: Tournament between rival villages.
Tai'is: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Taiskaw-a: *Nasqual* name embodied in a *Snaiele* origin myth.
Tamtmuk-pais, "The Breather": One of *Tlitqalitse'a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukus: *Sisaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapamamtsa: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
taqtsa: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
taqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta-x: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a *wulî* kills its prey.
Tats; tsuatiw, Tatsu: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
tatkuulp: Water-lily.
Ta-qa-ai: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tatkumam: Leading chief of *Stqaiid* and reputed founder of the village.
Taqqiwam: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
tatsu: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tcaidaid-i: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
tcauis: Husband (*di tcauisulai:* My husband).
tcawai': River.
Tcawaxaitkv: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[825] [415] [805] [431] [195]
[601]
[586] [825] [628] [101]
[824]
[601] [824]
[825] [601]

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Wa'ɑs: *Xnaɨs* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog.
wɑmɑnts: Dog, *archaic.*
wɑ'xsɨs: Cape of yellow cedar-bark.
wɑxwɑxtsɨs: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiɑbɑi: One of the first women to settle at *Snaɨlɨl* in the beginning of time.
Wiɑqɑɨl: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tɑ̄l-ɨo* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuɨx* in the beginning of time.
Wɨkwɑ'ɑmɑ: Synonym for *Kwɑ'ɑ:* Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxɑ̄lɨt* chief.
Wɨkwɑxwɑ̄: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wɨnɑ, wɑxɑtɨɨ, wɨnɑɔ: War-party.
Wɨnɑ: Slave living at *Nuxɑ̄lɨt* several generations ago.
wɨnɑ di qɑ̄ɑ, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *wɨnɑ di sɑ-ɨ̄ɑ̄ɟɔ-ɪs,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Wɨwɨnɑ: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Wɨwɨnɑtwɑ̄: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
wɨxɑxtɑ: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked.
Wɨxɨtpɑwɑkɑ: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
Wɨxɑmbɑlɑk: *Smɔɔɑn's* daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wɨ'ɨtlɑɔ: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wɨnɑlkɑ: *Sɑɑsk* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wɨɔɑt: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wɨɔɑn: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wɨ'ɑ: *Kɑɔɨɑt* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wɨlɟ: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wɨlɑ: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wɨlɟ: Cripple.

X

Xɑɨqɑ̄lɑɨ: Ancestral name of a *Tɑ̄l-ɨo* man.
Xɑɨqɑ̄ɨ: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuɨɑɔ.*
Xɑɨ-ɑɨ: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xɑɨ'lɑɨ-ɨ: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore.
Xɑlɑɨɟɔ: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xɑqɑɨɑɨɔ: Great blue heron.
Xɑɨ: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xɑwɑɟ: Canada goose.
xɑ'ɑ-ɔ: Root of *qɑɨmɑɔ,* an unidentified plant.
Xɑbɑlɑɔ: *Kɑɔɨɑt* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xɑbɑxtɑw-ɑ: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xɑlɨmɑɨ: *Kɑɔɨɑt* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xɔɔɔ: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *ɣɔɔ after ɑ.*
Xɔmɔɔɑ: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snaɨlɨl* in the beginning of time.